THE Nation

December 18, 1954
20¢

Henry Lee Moon

Desegregation At Work

Progress and Problems

Bertrand Russell

Commission for Peace

A New Approach to World Tensions

Guns and Butter Too *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

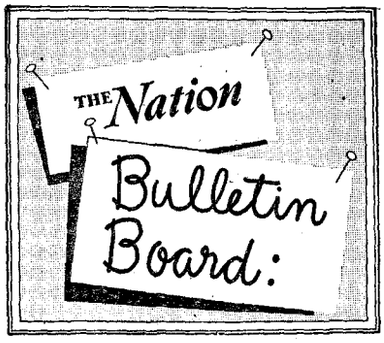
Human Rights in a Corporate State
A Review of A. A. Berle's New Book *Walton Hamilton*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

DEC 16 1954

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



WHETHER OR NOT he planned it that way, Bertrand Russell's article on page 531 complements the essay he wrote for *The Nation* in the summer of 1953, The World I Want. Obviously, if Mr. Russell is to see the world of his dreams realized, the first prerequisite is peace. He presents here a provocative idea on what neutral nations can do about peace. Since the Nobel peace prize was not awarded this year, the committee might well consider setting aside the money as the beginning of a fund to be used to bring Mr. Russell's idea to reality.

THE PUBLICATION of *American Heritage,* edited by Bruce Catton, a contributing editor of *The Nation,* is an experiment worth watching. Uncertain whether to call it a book or a magazine, the publishers have solved the problem for the time being by calling it both.

American Heritage will appear six times yearly but will be bound in hard covers and sell for $10 a year, or $2.95 a copy. The first number is handsome in both format and typography. Excellent use is made of reproductions of old prints and paintings. Some of the articles are original; some are taken from books and records new and old. The content is varied—drawn, says Catton, from "anything that ever happened in America." Two of the best things in the issue are a long letter from Theodore Roosevelt describing his visit to England for the funeral of Edward VII and the transcript of a discourse by Albert J. Lasker on his experiences as a pioneer in mass advertising.

Obviously, the value of such a miscellany depends on the imagination and knowledge of those who edit it. In this, *American Heritage* is fortunate. Bruce Catton is not only a fine journalist but an eminent historian as well. His skill in making history come to life in terms of people and their acts and interests, evident in all his books, will undoubtedly be effectively applied to this new venture.

A PAGE of *The Nation* was made part of the court record in the trial of Carl Braden in Louisville, Kentucky. Braden was indicted following the investigation of an explosion at the home of Andrew Wade, a Negro. Braden, who had purchased the home for Wade, was charged with "advocating sedition." The prosecutor, A. Scott Hamilton, alleges that the explosion was a Communist plot or a Communist-inspired plot designed to stir up trouble.

The Nation was brought into the proceedings during the interrogation of prosecution witness Manning Johnson by the defense. The defense attorney cited an article from this magazine which reproduced testimony given by Johnson at a previous hearing, where he said that under certain circumstances he would not hesitate to lie in court. When the prosecutor heard this he attacked *The Nation* for daring to print it—although he did not question its authenticity. The full story of this case is being prepared for us by Richard Harwood of the Louisville *Courier-Journal.*

WE HAVE HAD a number of demands for reprints of Professor D. F. Fleming's article "Ways to Coexist" (*The Nation* November 27, 1954), and I want to report that they are now available. Single copies cost 10 cents, 50 copies $2.50, 100 copies $4, 500 copies $16, and 1,000 copies $21. Order your copies, sent postpaid, from *The Nation's* Reprint Department, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14.

FROM INDIA come two cheering letters. One runs: "We have been getting stray copies of *The Nation* through the kindness of a friend in the United States. We find your magazine refreshingly different from others that come our way. Your fight against bigotry, intolerance, oppression and injustice—whether in America, Africa, or Asia—is very heartening to us in India, who until recently were ruled by aliens. You represent to us the true ideas of a democracy which Lincoln and Jefferson built, rather than present-day America with its Jim Crow, McCarthyism, and worship of the almighty dollar. Have the courage to be right, though in a minority. You are doing wonderful work." (*Signed*) C. S. Pillai.

The other: "It may interest you that I mean to read *The Nation* over a number of years in the future. It has helped me to develop an independent attitude toward life." (*Signed*) Prem Dutt Mohindra.

Incidentally, we have a small fund which we use to send *The Nation* overseas to students and universities. Readers interested in enlarging the circulation of this "Voice of America" can send a one-year subscription to a designated person in another country at a special gift rate of $5.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Jim Crow—First Hand

Dear Sirs: On August 9, with the idea of spending a pleasant vacation in the South, I put my wife and two children in the car and took off from Detroit for Pensacola and New Orleans. Late that afternoon we reached Nashville and stayed overnight in a hotel recommended to us as the best in the city for colored. We were up early and looking for a place to eat breakfast but found that nowhere in the city could a touring Negro get a meal at that hour. So without eating we headed for Birmingham, 210 miles away.

In Alabama I became very thirsty. Stopping at a gas station in a village, I asked the attendant for gas and drinking water. After pumping the gas and collecting the money, he gave me a glass and pointed to a pipe to which was attached a hose for use in the outside toilets and for watering livestock. Disconnecting the hose, I drank and returned the glass. Over the doors of the toilets was a sign which said: "Rest rooms for white only."

Before we reached Birmingham my wife and children became very hungry. Each time we passed a restaurant, Lorita Ann, aged seven, would ask, "Daddy, why can't we eat there?" Telling her that the places were for white people only was rather a painful task.

As we approached a roadside restaurant on the outskirt of Decator we stopped near a state-police headquarters, and I asked an officer if the food in the restaurant was available to me. He told me to go to the side door and knock. A colored woman came to the door and on learning what I wanted directed me to the back door of the kitchen. Four hamburgers and two cups of coffee were prepared and handed me in a bag.

Somewhere between Birmingham and Montgomery we stopped for gas. My wife asked to use the rest room. She and Lorita were directed to one with a sign reading "Colored." There was no light, no paper, and no toilet seat, and the room was used by both men and women.

In Pensacola, while we were shopping for souvenirs and greeting cards in one of the large stores, I became thirsty and looked for a drinking fountain. In the rear of the store I found two, one with the sign "white," the other "colored." The difference was that the pressure for the white fountain was ample, but for the colored it was so low you could barely get the water.

When boarding a bus, if there are white people standing in the aisle, the Negro must pay his fare, get off, go around, and come to his section (it is always in the rear) through the back door. The customs mentioned are followed in Mississippi and Louisiana also.

Talking with various individuals and

(Continued on page 540)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 179, Number 25
New York, Saturday, December 18, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

That Not-So-Mad Irishman

Once again Senator McCarthy has the commentators guessing. Some say that Joe simply "blew his top" in bitterly attacking the President; others, noting that he waited until the Senate was in adjournment and selected December 7 as the day on which to launch his attack, regard it as an act of cold calculation. There could be truth in both theories. When McCarthy first entered the committee room "he seemed to be kind of excited" to Senator Mundt, an authority on his moods, who urged him to "take it easy." He did leave the room for a moment only to return muttering: "They're shooting at me and I've got to say something." Joe was mad, no doubt about it.

It is equally obvious that what he said was calculated but what were his calculations? Mr. Lippmann and others assure us that McCarthy now feels that the Democrats will win in 1956 and is therefore out to control the "hard core" Republicans as the best means of controlling the party. But control of a permanent minority party can hardly be Senator McCarthy's idea of a brilliant future; he calculates to win, not to lose. Were he to clarify his intentions, however, it would throw little light on his future, which is closely tied up with events which he can influence but not control. It will be recalled that Hitler's following dropped to a very low point on the eve of the 1929 depression. It is not so much McCarthy's intentions that one needs to know in order to predict his future; what is needed is a calculus of events and forces.

Points or Principles?

Talk of the split in the G. O. P. over foreign policy and McCarthy has diverted attention from divisions in the Cabinet. Of these, the running argument between Secretary of Commerce Weeks and James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, has taken a new turn. Aided by the November 2 returns, Mr. Mitchell appears to have convinced some at least of the President's top political advisors that the Administration should make a few gestures in labor's direction. The contrast between Mr. Mitchell's pre-election speech to the A. F. of L. convention and his recent address to the C. I. O. is remarkable. The same contrast appears in the warm, friendly message from the President which Mr. Mitchell delivered.

In taking a firm stand against state right-to-work laws —"I oppose such laws categorically"—Mr. Mitchell drew immediate fire from spokesmen for the N. A. M. and the United States Chamber of Commerce. And his stand on this issue is only one phase of a larger plan. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on December 3 that he intends to propose that the federally-fixed floor under industry's wages should be lifted by a dime or fifteen cents and extended to include several million additional workers. News of these developments must have made Mr. Weeks moan and groan and this despite the President's statement that the Secretary of Labor was expressing personal, not Administration, views.

Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether Mr. Mitchell has won a round on principle or merely on political points. The issues he has emphasized suggest that his objective may be to disrupt labor's growing identification with the Democratic Party as much as to help labor chalk up significant gains. Labor's new interest in state right-to-work laws—in seventeen states now—is related to significant Democratic gains at the state level: eight new governors and 545 new state legislators. Formerly labor could see little chance of reversing the "anti-labor" trend in the state capitols; with these gains the situation has changed. It was with a clear eye on Mr. Mitchell's objective that Walter Reuther quickly challenged him to support amendments to Taft-Hartley which would invalidate state right-to-work acts.

Similarly in preparing plans to raise and extend the minimum-wage law, Mr. Mitchell must be deliciously aware of the fact that the South, as a region, would feel the greatest immediate impact; industries that have "gone South" in search of lower wage rates will not appreciate his proposal. The labor committees in both houses are chaired, of course, by Democrats. Hence if a proposal to raise and extend the minimum-wage law were sidetracked, it still might have the effect of upsetting labor's attitude toward the Democratic Party. Even so, it is significant that the Administration is giving Mr. Mitchell a chance to build support for his policies.

Secretary Humphrey Dissents

If the Weeks-Mitchell argument on labor policy marks one significant split in the Cabinet, the rapidly accumulating differences between Mr. Humphrey and some of his colleagues on fiscal policy mark still another. At the recent Rio conference, Mr. Humphrey was widely credited with being the most influential American spokes-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 521
Frozen in Enmity 523

ARTICLES

Guns and Butter Too:
Bonn's Triumphal Comeback
by J. A. del Vayo 524

Desegregation at Work:
Progress and Problems
by Henry Lee Moon 526

Workers' Health:
The I. L. W. U. Program
by Louis Goldblatt 530

Commission for Peace: A New Approach
by Bertrand Russell 531

Moscow-Belgrade Reunion
by Alexander Werth 533

BOOKS

Human Rights in a Corporate Society
by Walton Hamilton 534

A Kafka of the Ancien Régime
by Maxwell Geismar 535

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 538

OUTSTANDING RECORDS of 1954
by B. H. Haggin 539

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 598
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 540

BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 521

LETTERS opposite 521

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey	*Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams	*Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz	*Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein	*Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo	*Foreign Editor*
Martin Solow	*Assistant to the Publisher*
Harold Clurman	*Theater*
B. H. Haggin	*Music*
Gladys Whiteside	*Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting	*Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon	*Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, December 18, 1954. Volume 179, No. 25

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

man. His policy, reported Donald Grant in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, was simply one of "turning down coldly . . . all the demands of Latin American countries." Now the Administration has come around to the belief that some kind of economic-aid program must be projected for Southeast Asia but, as one might expect, Secretary Humphrey dissents.

Whether the issue relates to Latin-America, Asia, or domestic policy, Mr. Humphrey stands for stabilization, budget-balancing—although he concedes that a balanced budget is out of reach just now—and a hard-money policy. During the recent hearings of the Joint Economic Committee, he stoutly maintained that the hard-money program adopted by the Administration in the spring of 1953 was justified as an anti-inflation measure. "Inflation was checked before you, sir, came to the Treasury," commented Senator Ralph Flanders. Similar echoes of conflict over fiscal policy were audible in the sharp exchange between Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., and Allen Sproul, President of the New York Federal Reserve Bank at these same hearings. Add to all these splits and differences, the divisions within the Republican Party on military policies and one can, with Mr. Truman, "feel sorry for poor old Ike."

Alvin Johnson at Eighty

The Nation's staff gladly joins the hundreds of friends of Alvin Johnson in celebrating this week his eightieth birthday and the imposing sum of accomplishments, scholarly and humane, the years have recorded. To us he will always be, first of all, the journalist; one who during the *New Republic's* early, most brilliant period, shared editorial honors with Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, Francis Hackett, and Walter Weyl. We recall too with gratitude his later help to this weekly as an editorial adviser—one of a group which included Heywood Broun and other able journalistic hands called together during the middle thirties by Maurice Wertheim, then owner of *The Nation*.

But of course it is Alvin Johnson's career as director—he was also one of the founders—of the New School for Social Research in New York that forms the heart of his achievement. For the New School remained "new" throughout his long term of leadership, a generator of fresh ideas and ways of teaching, of creative work and thought; a refuge for unconventional minds and, at all times, of free speech and free learning. Out of this unique educational experiment developed Alvin Johnson's most stirring single accomplishment—the rescue of more than two hundred European scholars and their families, bodily snatched from the fascist terror in Italy and particularly Germany, brought to America, and placed in the New School and other colleges.

For a multitude of obvious reasons, besides those of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

friendship and personal admiration, we wish Dr. Johnson many more years of happy activity in the wide and varied fields of his interest.

Silence Means Dissent

Americans whose only source of information is their daily papers must have been surprised by the strong show of popular feeling against Franco in the recent municipal balloting in Spain. A private letter just received from Madrid gives some details that have not been reported here, showing how, under fascist electoral controls, this opposition made itself felt. To begin with the number of people entitled to vote was limited to heads of families—"padres de familia"—and excluded all persons who had ever been sentenced "for political reasons." These restrictions reduced the theoretical figure of seventeen million voters to seven million actually permitted to vote.

Generally the opponents of the regime could register dissent only by staying away from the polls. This is precisely what 40 per cent of the eligible voters did outside of Madrid. The capital was a special case; it was the only city where an opposition slate—the Monarchists—appeared on the ballot. And in Madrid participation in the vote reached 90 per cent. Monarchists denounced the pretense of a "secret vote" and "free elections" and formulated precise accusations of fraud and other abuses. Several local incidents took place, not reported in the American press, indicating that the Spanish people are gradually losing their temper. The letter bears out what American visitors just returned from Spain have reported —that suddenly one hears talk on all sides about a possible early return of the Monarchy.

Another indication of the weakening of the Madrid regime is the fact that last week Franco was forced to remove the Governor of Pamplona province to appease the Navarrese, jealous of their "sovereign" rights. The Navarrese, whether Monarchist or Republican, are the staunchest enemies of the Falange throughout Spain.

Bill of Whose Rights?

Henry Lee Moon's admirable totting up of the score to date on desegregation in the public schools (see page 526) strikes a consistently encouraging note—except for certain areas in the deep South. There, as Mr. Moon points out, the chief problem is to counteract the demagogues who play on prejudice for personal or political profit. Reports supplementing Mr. Moon's account indicate the inflammatory nature of white-supremacy tactics. In Georgia a gubernatorial candidate in the primary proposed to chase all Negroes out of the state; another, suggesting that special schools be set up for "mixed" pupils, as well as for Negroes and whites, said that any white who chose a "mixed" school should have his head examined by a state psychiatrist. In Mississippi state legislators are participating in white "county councils" designed to keep Negroes out of white schools; one actually suggested that "a few killings" now might save more bloodshed later.

Mr. Moon tells how a group of Negro leaders stood up to Mississippi's Governor White. A recent incident in that state indicates that Negroes do better to stand up than to bow, which only invites kicks. An all-Negro community in Neshoba County, with 300 children and no school to send them to, sought help from school officials. The Negroes were told to borrow the money to build a school and were promised that a special tax would be levied to enable them to repay the loan. The county Board of Supervisors approved the plan but suggested that the Negroes make a contribution of their own. The Negroes collected $4,200 and borrowed $9,000 more from two white business men. The county school board donated $1,800. But after the school was built, the supervisors refused to levy the tax which would have enabled the Negroes to repay the loan. The money lenders obtained a court judgment attaching the Negroes' property as security for their loan. In effect, the Negroes got their school at the cost of their homes.

These reports, together with Mr. Moon's article and the letter from Charles Morgan published elsewhere in this issue, make appropriate reading this week. Wednesday was Bill of Rights Day.

Frozen in Enmity

IT was five years ago to the month that what remained of the Chinese Nationalist government, after it had sustained one of the greatest military defeats in modern history, fled beaten to Formosa. Two and a half million Nationalist troops and 80 per cent of their good American equipment had been lost. None who had watched the Nationalists' precipitate decline after V-J Day could have imagined that half a decade later a great Western power might think it worth its political while to reach a formal alliance with the exile group that had won so little credit in its own country. But now the United States has chosen to negotiate a mutual defense pact with the refugee rump "government" we have taken under our wing.

A noxious miasma rising out of the marshes of the cold war chokes our Asia policy. American scholars and diplomats who know the Far East have been mostly shelved, or silenced. Ignorance of the area is deliberately fostered by a small group who flaunt their "patriotic anti-communism" as justification for advocating a foreign policy and strategy that runs contrary to those of our major potential supporters in Asia—Great Britain, Japan, and India—and contrary to our own evident best interests. Surely it is only in such an atmosphere that Mr. Dulles would dare ask a Democratic Senate to approve a treaty embodying the essence of the Knowland-Radford

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concept of go-it-alone in Asia—even into World War III.

We should make no mistake about it: Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek can achieve their aims in Asia only through the United States going to war with China, and if need be with Soviet Russia. Rhee was candid enough to admit this to the United States Congress last July—though by turns he threatens to march north on his own. Chiang Kai-shek pretends that his beaten war machine will stage a comeback single-handed against the mainland power that South Korea and the U. N., only with difficulty, fought to a draw on the Korean Peninsula; but his "unleashing" in February, 1953, led to no such move. Far more impressive is the solemn warning from Premier Chou En-lai that the United States must "take upon itself all the grave consequences" if it fails to withdraw its forces from Formosa and the Strait.

The Washington *Post,* always well informed about Asia, has welcomed the Formosa pact as a safeguard against provocative moves on the part of Chiang which might embroil this country in war with China. While nothing in the agreement explicitly bars attacks on the mainland by the Nationalists, the *Post* assumes that Chiang has privately promised not to make any such move "without this country's consent." Arguing from this premise, it insists that only a treaty based on such a clear understanding can provide a curb on Chiang's "unrepudiated aim of involving this country in war with Communist China as his only hope of restoration on the mainland." The same view was expressed by Foreign Secretary Eden last week in Parliament.

This will undoubtedly be the hope and argument of "moderates" in the Senate who support the pact. But any such rationalization ignores the danger implicit in an agreement which, unnaturally and arbitrarily, freezes American policy for an indefinite period in a posture of enmity toward China and the Chinese, risking the alienation of British, Japanese, and Indian policies in Asia. Ratification of the alliance will both defer and complicate the problem of eventually regularizing relations with Peking. In view of all this the notion that we are putting Chiang "on leash" again seems a bit silly. By tying America's fate to that of our Formosa protectorate, Mr. Dulles seems instead to be catering to the unappeaseable Republican right-wing at the expense of the more realistic purpose of President Eisenhower to avoid provocations and thwart what the *Post* describes as the "impetuous plans of the interventionists." The treaty is bad politics as well as dangerous policy.

So conservative a man as Nicholas Roosevelt, in a letter to the New York *Times* of December 5, while arguing the strategic necessity of excluding the Chinese Reds from Formosa, insisted "that the support of Chiang Kai-shek as head of the so-called Nationalists is as futile as it is costly to American interests in Asia." The recognition of fundamental realities is the first essential for the formulation of an effective foreign policy. In respect to the Nationalist rump perched on Formosa the prime requisite at this stage is to take a clear look, to remark—like the child in the story—that the emperor really has nothing on at all.

GUNS AND BUTTER TOO

Bonn's Triumphal Comeback . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

IN TWO preceding articles I described the extraordinary vigor with which a revived German industry is penetrating into the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Latin America. It is doing the same thing in Africa. As long ago as September, 1952, Dr. Semler, German delegate to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, elaborated a plan for creating an African metal industry, financed exclusively by European capital, which could reduce the European dollar deficit by selling to the United States whatever Europe itself could not absorb. The recent Franco-German agreement on the Saar, which in M. Mendès-France's opinion opens vast opportunities for economic collaboration between the two countries, gives Dr. Semler's scheme a larger terrain in which to operate. German industrialists are already discussing ways to exploit France's African possessions—Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, French Equatorial Africa, and so on. Nor has the Belgian Congo been forgotten by the far-seeing Germans, who are seeking to play a part in an ambitious ten-year plan which has been drawn up for that area.

But Bonn's economic drive is not limited to the underdeveloped areas. Conquest of the neighboring European markets is also a major objective. Until recently the Germans have been working in this area under certain self-imposed restraints to avoid frightening their West European competitors. Bonn saw how Lancashire mill owners shrank from the thought of cheap Japanese cloth on British counters and noted the strong reaction of the British automobile industry to the prospect of an invasion of the home market by the low-priced German Volkswagen. German diplomacy dictated caution: as long as British and West European support was needed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for German sovereignty and rearmament the sale of a few more cars could wait.

DESPITE these restraints West Germany's trade in Europe has been making giant strides; today 65 per cent of its exports go to other West European countries. The currency reform of 1948 was the first major post-war move to regain old markets; this enabled West Germany to break through the domestic obstacles to industrial expansion which had kept its economy in a "prisoner-of-war" camp, to use the expression of Minister of Economics Erhard. But even the currency reform could not remove the economic strait-jacket imposed by the occupation statute. This fact makes all the more impressive what the Germans have been able to accomplish in the last six years in their systematic preparations for the day when the strait-jacket would be removed. Here, for instance, are the figures for German trade with Belgium and the Netherlands (in thousands of dollars):

BELGIUM-LUXEMBOURG

	1949	*1951*	*1952*
Imports	142,489	181,898	274,541
Exports	112,742	242,661	298,208

NETHERLANDS

Imports	110,276	245,046	280,959
Exports	90,482	349,130	323,778

Until recently trade with France suffered as much from France's justifiable objections to strengthening its old enemy as from its financial troubles. Even so, German exports to France have doubled since 1949. Fear of German industrial competition lay behind the opposition of certain powerful French groups both to the extinct E. D. C. and to the very much alive Paris and London agreements. On this question the French capitalists are divided. Some look forward to strong Franco-German collaboration; others dread the invasion of German goods almost as much as a possible invasion by the resurrected Wehrmacht.

The Germans have found it easier to operate in Italy. There, as in Latin America, their terms have been generous, and they have accepted large quotas of Italy's fresh fruit and vegetables. For its part Bonn has conquered the Italian market for cutlery, china, and other goods in which labor costs predominate. Here are figures showing the growing trade with Italy (in thousands of dollars):

Courtesy London *Daily Mirror*

"You know, sometimes I'm haunted by the fear that we may win *the next war."*

ITALY

	1949	*1951*	*1952*
Imports	88,241	130,631	152,998
Exports	59,977	160,631	223,176

German trade with Italy's neighbor, Yugoslavia, has undergone a similar sensational expansion:

YUGOSLAVIA

	1949	*1951*	*1952*
Imports	8,557	38,216	61,883
Exports	15,024	43,845	76,362

Spain is naturally one of the Federated Republic's best customers. Even as a young officer in World War I, Franco was known as an ardent Germanophile. The Spanish civil war made the ties still closer. The last two years have witnessed a steady two-way flow of trade missions and business men between Bonn and Madrid. Last week the New York *Times* reported that Germany's Dornier Aircraft Manufacturing Company had "sidestepped Allied curbs on aviation activities in Germany by setting up a subsidiary company in Spain and building the first post-war aircraft there." In my article in *The Nation* of October 23 I predicted just such a development. I said then, and I repeat, that no assurances by Anthony Eden or anyone else that the London and Paris agreements will effectively control German rearmament can carry weight with those who know what happened after World War I.

The Madrid story is particularly interesting in connection with the current efforts of German industrialists to win Bonn support for the building of aircraft factories, about which little has appeared in the American press. The industrialists know they cannot build anything larger than light planes and helicopters without help from abroad. For this aid they are counting on the United States. Their logic is unassailable: a strong military Germany is inseparable from a strong economic Germany. And in this case the American temptation to contribute to the defense of Christian civilization would be combined with good business—an investment in the German aircraft industry.

Scandinavia, because of the uniformly high quality of its goods, has offered the Germans more resistance than most other West European countries. But even there German quality, combined with moderate prices, has overtaken domestic and foreign competition; there has been a rapid increase in German exports to Scandinavia in the last two years.

Herr Erhard, in his recently published book, "Germany's Come-Back in the World Market," shows a great deal of optimism with regard to Germany's chances in the British Commonwealth. "The sterling area," he observes, "offers us one great economic advantage, that of saving dollars. The adherence of the sterling area to the European Payments Union keeps open overseas markets for us, since we are enabled to employ the surplus arising from our trade with Britain and the Continent to import sterling raw materials."

Even the United States has not been spared. For the last year Germans have been making a big play for West Coast markets. West German ships which previously delivered only to Atlantic and Gulf ports are now making regular calls

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at California ports, giving German shippers opportunity to save on transportation costs. Simultaneously the pre-war pattern of interlocking German-American trusts, especially in chemicals, may be beginning to emerge. Monsanto Chemical Works and the Bayer Chemical Works, both offsprings of the decartelization of Germany's I. G. Farben, have recently joined to create the Mobay Chemical Company for the production of raw materials for the plastics industry. Here is a pattern which will bear close watching.

THE figures given in the foregoing tables stop at 1952 only because official statistics are as yet lacking for 1953. There is no question, however, that the last two years will show continuing German gains. Many factors have contributed to the success of Bonn's economic drive. Perhaps the most important has been American help; since 1945 this aid has amounted to more than three and one-half billion dollars. Herr Erhard himself has stressed "how much German reconstruction owes to the American Administration's far-sighted policy of foreign aid and to the understanding and altruism of the American taxpayer who had to foot the bill." The altruism is the more marked in that, beginning January 1, under a tax-reform bill approved by Bonn last spring, the German taxpayer is going to enjoy a tax relief that his American counterpart will certainly envy.

United States aid has been extended, of course, primarily for military objectives. But it has helped Germany's gross national product to rise from an estimated twenty-one billion dollars in 1950 to an estimated thirty-four billion today.

Another factor in Germany's economic resurgence is the determination of German industrialists and business men; who take satisfaction not only in profits but in the emergence of their country out of the rubble of total defeat. They put their hope in a disciplined and cohesive economy. A British observer wrote recently: "The Germans believe that cartels will play their own part in the great come-back; Allied action in destroying the trusts was no more 'final' than that of the child who knocks down his bricks only to build them up again." By one means or another the German cartel will be back in full strength within a few years at most. Moreover, German goods are high in quality and moderate in price. The Volkswagen sells in Finland for $400; what American or European small-car manufacturer can beat that price?

The Germans are beginning to sense that in the end they will emerge as the real winners of World War II. This year their exports are likely to top the five-billion-dollar mark. If they have achieved this much as an occupied country, what will they be able to achieve as a sovereign nation with military power to back up their economic power? The idea of a united Western Europe, with its 200,000,000 buyers, the prospects for markets in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, excite their imagination. To Britain, France, and the United States the London and Paris agreements may seem like a great anti-Communist victory; to the Germans they represent the way back to their old place in the sun.

DESEGREGATION AT WORK

Progress and Problems . . *by Henry Lee Moon*

FOUR months after the United States Supreme Court handed down its historic decision on segregation in the public schools four major cities and more than two-score smaller cities and towns in seven states had begun the process of integrating their formerly segregated school systems. The success of most of these communities in effecting a peaceful transition has been largely obscured by the publicity given to the few instances in which resistance to the change has been expressed in demonstrations of defiance.

In four of the six communities directly involved in the cases argued before the Supreme Court, Negro and white children were attending classes together by the opening of the school year in September. The two Delaware school districts had lowered the color bar two years earlier in compliance with a ruling of the state Supreme Court. In September, 1953, eight months before the federal court's May 17 ruling, the Topeka, Kansas, Board of Education had voted "to terminate segregation in the elementary grades as rapidly as practicable." The District of Columbia Board of Education promptly adopted a policy statement disavowing racial considerations in the operation of the school system. Then, on May 25, a plan developed by Superintendent Hobart M. Corning called for initiation of desegregation in September, 1954, and completion by September, 1955. Opposed to this plan as a needlessly gradualist approach were Mrs. Margaret Just Butcher, one of the three Negro members of the board, and the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Butcher and the N. A. A. C. P. asked for immediate desegregation. The school boards in the other two cases, Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edward County, Virginia, have taken no steps to comply with the court's ruling.

In addition to Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Missouri, various cities, towns, and rural areas in Arkansas, Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri, Kansas, and New Mexico have initiated desegregation as a result of the decision, and many have successfully completed it. Nine of the

HENRY LEE MOON, director of public relations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is the author of "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eleven cities in Kansas which were permitted to segregate have proceeded to integrate. In Missouri 110 of the 177 school districts reporting Negro school children have opened previously "white" schools to Negro pupils. Of the 44 West Virginia counties having Negro school-age children, 12 have completely integrated their public-school systems and 13 others have partially integrated. The May 17 decision sounded the death knell to Jim Crow schools in New Mexico and Arizona, in both of which states, as in Kansas and Wyoming, public-school segregation had been permissive. Wyoming, apparently, had never set up separate schools for the children of its small Negro population.

THE encouraging aspect of these desegregation moves is that they were essentially voluntary actions by the communities. In handing down the decision that segregation in public-school education was unconstitutional the court withheld formulation of decrees calling for further argument on how and when to require compliance. The new hearing, originally set for the week of December 6, has been postponed pending Senate confirmation of the President's nominee to fill the vacancy created by the death of Justice Jackson. In the strongholds of racial bias, mostly in the deep South, school authorities have assumed that no action is required until the court hands down its decrees. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose lawyers, headed by Thurgood Marshall, argued the cases in the courts, maintains that any local school board is free to desegregate immediately, state constitutions and statutes requiring segregation notwithstanding. In midsummer Attorney General John M. Dalton of Missouri announced that the decision voided all state constitutional and statutory requirements for segregation, thus leaving the local educational authorities free to integrate if they chose. He added, however, that they could not be required to act until the Supreme Court issued its decrees. Nevertheless, Missouri school districts accounting for 75 per cent of the state's Negro school children began integration without waiting for further court action.

While the vast majority of Negro children who had been attending Jim Crow schools before May 17 are still enrolled in them, the new democratic pattern in education has been accepted in many areas where segregation was previously required or permitted under state constitutions and laws. Although not

Thurgood Marshall

subject to the court's ruling, Roman Catholic parochial schools—and to a lesser extent the schools of other denominations—have begun desegregation in Arkansas, Missouri, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Texas, and Tennessee.

In general, white pupils have welcomed incoming Negro pupils. Negro athletes have made the teams in the high schools to which they have been admitted in Baltimore, West Virginia, and Missouri. Negroes have been elected to class offices in schools from which they were formerly excluded. Negro and white students are participating jointly in dramatics and debating as well as in sports. In Jackson, Missouri, a town of 3,700, "integration has been complete in both academic and sports fields," reports the superintendent of schools, R. O. Hawkins. "One of the varsity football players is colored, one substitute is colored, and the junior-high team has five colored players on the squad." The extent of voluntary desegregation by public and private schools and of the pupils' acceptance of the new pattern leads me to believe that harmonious integration of the entire American public-school system may be attained within the next year or two.

However, the Southern Education Reporting Service, established by the Ford Foundation to compile and publish information on the progress of desegregation, reports organized protests and demonstrations against integration in Sheridan, Arkansas; Clarkton, Missouri; Hobbs, New Mexico; Milford, Delaware; Baltimore; Washington; and five West Virginia communities—White Sulphur Springs and Rupert in Greenbrier County, Madison and Seth in Boone County, and Four States in Marion County. In only five of these was the order to desegregate rescinded—White Sulphur Springs, Sheridan, Rupert, Milford, and Clarkton. Elsewhere the authorities stood firm in insisting on compliance with the May 17 decision. Legal action is pending in Milford and under consideration in Greenbrier County. A forthright ruling by Judge J. Harper Meredith promptly quelled the "rebellion against the government" instigated by parents at Four States.

Although Harry S. Ashmore, in his study "The Negro and the Schools," contends that "segregation has not been an important factor in school costs," the expense of separate schools appears to have accelerated desegregation. Shortly after the decision was announced, Superintendent Virgil L. Flinn of Kanawha County, West Virginia, in which Charleston is located, declared that a saving of $250,000 annually could be realized through the elimination of marginal schools and duplicate transportation services. In Fayetteville, Arkansas, the cost of sending Negro high-school students 60 miles to Fort Smith or 150 miles to Hot Springs amounted to $5,000 a year, and it was partly to save this money that white citizens of Fayetteville moved to open the local high school to Negroes. Charleston, Arkansas, reported a saving of $4,500 through desegregation. The Clarksville, Missouri, school district estimated it would save $8,600 a year by admitting Negroes to the high school and an additional sum by closing its unneeded Negro elementary school. Superintendent Corning of the District of Columbia reported that for the first time in a decade no funds were requested for additional classroom teachers in Negro schools at a time when the white schools were overstaffed because of declining attendance.

WHILE practically no office-holding white Southerners have acclaimed the Supreme Court decision, many have disavowed wild schemes to abandon the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public schools or to defy the court. Most of the official spokesmen of the region have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, marking time until the decrees are formulated.

The day after the decision Governor Francis Cherry of Arkansas announced: "Arkansas will obey the law. It always has." Governor Gordon Persons of Alabama refused to call a special session of the legislature to consider means of circumventing the ruling. James Folsom, elected to succeed him, has expressed a desire "to be included out of the school-segregation controversy." Within a week after the decision Governor J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware informed the state Board of Education that it would be "the policy of this administration to work toward adjustment to the United States constitutional requirements. I respectfully ask the state Board of Education to proceed toward this objective." In Florida, Senator Spessard Holland told the Kiwanians: "No matter how much we don't like it, we must not have false ideas of the seriousness. This is going to be the law." Representative Charles E. Bennett of Florida said: "I think the federal government should be required to take all necessary steps to make the states carry out the ruling."

Governor Theodore F. McKeldin of Maryland issued a statement asserting: "Maryland prides itself upon being a law-abiding state, and I am sure our citizens and our officials will accept readily the United States Supreme Court's interpretation of our fundamental law." Further, he expressed confidence that "the transition can be brought about in Maryland without confusion and without undue delay." Kentucky, said Governor Lawrence Wetherby, "will do whatever is necessary to comply with the law." He was supported in this attitude by Attorney General J. D. Buckman, Senators Earle C. Clements and John Sherman Cooper, and other state and local officials. In North Carolina the Greensboro school board voted six to one on May 18 to direct the superintendent to begin a study "regarding ways and means of complying with the court's decision." Said D. E. Higgins, chairman of the board, "We must not fight or attempt to circumvent this decision." While describing himself as "terribly disappointed," Governor William B. Umstead of North Carolina said: "This is no time for rash statements or the proposal of impossible schemes."

Dr. Oliver Hodge, superintendent of public instruction in Oklahoma, declared: "If we don't have to do anything about it until a year after September 1 [1954], it will be all right." In Tennessee, Governor Frank Clement commented: "I must point out it is a decision handed down by a judicial body which we, the American people, under our Constitution and law recognize as supreme in matters of interpreting the law of the land." He noted that pending the final decrees "no change is anticipated in our school system." Backed by Governor William C. Marland, W. W. Trent, West Virginia's superintendent of schools, said on June 1: "As segregation is unconstitutional, boards should, in my opinion, begin immediately to reorganize and readjust their schools to comply with the Supreme Court decision." Later he added: "Complete desegregation will come to West Virginia's public schools in a reasonable time and in the absence of legal action."

Non-office-holding spokesmen in the South have been less restrained than the politicians. Many, through their churches, unions, and other associations, have called for compliance. Various Catholic dioceses have acted to end segregation in schools under their jurisdiction and have spoken up for general compliance. Not only the National Council of Churches but also some of its Southern constituent bodies have indorsed the decision. A resolution of the Southern Baptist Convention recognizes the decision as being "in harmony with the constitutional guaranty of equal freedom to all citizens." Southern units of the Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Protestant churches have approved it.

The Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta and the Southern Conference Educational Fund located in New Orleans have both called for implementation of the ruling. Even before the decision a convention of the Texas C. I. O. called for the abolition of Jim Crow in that state. Immediately after the decision was handed down, the Georgia Federation of Labor passed a resolution calling for compliance.

ON THE other hand, three Southern states—South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana—have taken steps to amend their constitutions to prevent integration in the public schools. The Louisiana amendment, supplementing a recently passed statute, authorizes the state to use its police powers to continue segregation. In addition, the Louisiana legislature has enacted a law empowering local superintendents to assign pupils to specific schools. Referendums in South Carolina and Georgia have ratified measures paving the way for abolition of the public schools in the event the states are unable to circumvent the court's decision. Mississippi will vote on a similar amendment on December 21. Meanwhile it has tightened registration and voting requirements in an effort to cut down the Negro vote; the state now has 22,000 qualified Negro voters.

Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily*

A Lesson Yet to Be Learned

In each of these states, however, there has been a measure of organized resistance to the proposed amendments. Governor Talmadge's "private-school plan" was opposed not only by the N. A. A. C. P. but by the Parent-Teachers Association, Federation of Labor, League of Women Voters, and United Church Women of Georgia. Some of the state's leading newspapers also came out against it. The plan was put over by the vote of the rural areas. The Louisiana plan was opposed by the N. A. A. C. P., the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Bureau of Governmental Research, and the Roman Catholic church. The Mississippi proposal to abandon the public-school system is being resisted by the poorer hill counties in the northeastern part of the state, where the proportion of Negroes is less than in the rich Delta area.

Time and time again, Governor Byrnes, Governor Talmadge, and other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spokesmen for racial bias have declared that Negroes prefer segregation. Governor Hugh White of Mississippi was rash enough to test this theory. Last July he summoned 100 Mississippi Negro leaders to an interracial conference with the Legal Educational Advisory Committee set up by the state legislature. The Negroes were expected to ratify the Governor's proposal for a "voluntary" segregated school plan. Only one of the group spoke up for Jim Crow schools. The others issued a statement declaring themselves "unalterably opposed to any effort of either white or Negro citizens to attempt to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States of America outlawing segregation in public schools." "I am stunned," cried Governor White after the conference. "I have believed that certain elements representing the vast majority of Negroes would go along. Now I am definitely of the opinion you can't put any faith in any one of them on this proposition." Considering the pressures to which Negroes are subject in a state like Mississippi their stand was heroic. Already economic reprisals have been organized against Negroes who support the N. A. A. C. P. fight against segregation.

Throughout the region Negro groups and leaders have been all but unanimous in calling for early compliance with the court's ruling. Aside from Percy Greene, the erstwhile militant editor of the Jackson (Mississippi) *Advocate,* and Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, president of the all-Negro Texas Southern University and former United States Minister to Liberia, I cannot recall a single Negro of national repute who supports the "separate but equal" doctrine. Where fully free to express themselves, the rank and file are no less convinced that segregation must be ended.

Inevitably the court's ruling became a hot political issue in certain of the segregation states. The bigots pledged a fight to the end to preserve the Jim Crow system. Save for the gallant gesture of Mrs. Grace W. Thomas, a gubernatorial candidate in Georgia, none of the office-seekers openly demanded that the ruling be complied with. However, many refrained from urging defiance.

As a test of sentiment, the elections were inconclusive. Georgia elected a rabid segregationist governor. All the nine candidates in the Democratic primary except the amateur, Mrs. Thomas, were equally committed to continuing segregation. Alabama elected James Folsom, a liberal, who may not advocate integration but who certainly avoided the usual nonsense about the inviolability of segregation. In Tennessee, Governor Frank Clement, who adopted a wait-and-see attitude, easily won the Democratic primary, equivalent to election, over two candidates pledged to oppose desegregation to the bitter end; Senator Estes Kefauver received more than twice as many votes as his opponent, who campaigned on a pro-segregation platform. Maryland's liberal Republican Governor, Theodore R. McKeldin, was reelected over the Democratic candidate, Dr. Harry Clifton Byrd, president of Maryland University, who favored continued segregation. In Texas, Governor Allan Shivers won reelection on a platform calling for continued segregation in public schools. North Carolina elected former Governor Kerr Scott to the United States Senate in the face of the charge that he favored integration of the schools.

A SOUTH which has long neglected the Negro teacher, paying her as much as the white teacher only under compulsion of court edict, has suddenly become gravely concerned about her fate with the advent of integration. Newspapers, school officials, and individuals who never before showed any interest in her welfare are prematurely bemoaning her anticipated unemployment.

As a matter of fact, in the vast majority of newly desegregated communities there has been no wholesale firing of Negro teachers. In some localities with sparse Negro population, where the separate school was marginal, a few colored teachers have been displaced, but in middle-sized and larger cities the number of Negro teachers has not been reduced. Negro women and men are now teaching both white and Negro children in Missouri, West Virginia, and Delaware, as well as in Kansas, Arizona, and New Mexico, where segregation had been permissive. The full quota of 175 Negro teachers is being retained in Kansas City, Kansas, the superintendent reports. In many cities integration of schools has been accompanied by integration of teaching staffs. New Jersey, however, affords the classic example of what desegregation does to Negro teachers. In 1945-46, before segregation was banned in the state, there were 479 Negro teachers, of whom 415 were assigned to all-Negro schools. In 1953-54 there were 645, teaching white children as well as colored in non-segregated schools.

With the present shortage of teachers, estimated as high as 150,000, the 113,000 Negro men and women now teaching in segregated public-school systems need not fear loss of employment when the schools are integrated. There simply will not be enough white teachers to replace them. Moreover, Southern whites have for generations intrusted their children, during their early formative years, to the care and training of Negroes. To hold that the relationship cannot be projected into the classroom is irrational.

The record clearly shows that American children of all races, colors, and faiths can go to school together with mutual respect and benefit. Obstacles of course remain, but they are not insurmountable. Peaceful desegregation requires planning and action by local leaders of both races. Success can be achieved if the following conditions are met. (1) There must be preparation of the community through full discussion of the meaning of the court's decision in forums sponsored by churches, civic organizations, fraternal orders, parent-teacher associations, trade unions, and other responsible groups. (2) A clear and straightforward statement of policy must be issued by the local school board. (3) This policy must be unwaveringly executed even if there is initial resistance. (4) Police and other law-enforcement officers must act promptly and effectively to restrain mob leaders and prevent violence. (5) Subtle or open attempts to delay, evade, or prevent desegregation must be exposed and crushed. (6) The community must realize that Jim Crow schools are not only illegal but wasteful of economic and human resources, offensive to our moral and political concepts of equality, and damaging to our national prestige and security.

Under these conditions, America's public schools can be expeditiously desegregated. It is a responsibility of citizenship to provide these conditions and to develop a democratic public-school system throughout the nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORKERS' HEALTH

The I. L. W. U. Program . . . *by Louis Goldblatt*

[*This is the final article of a series on trade unions which have gone beyond their collective-bargaining function to service their members with welfare programs of great scope. Among the unions previously dealt with are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (C. I. O.), the Retail Clerks' Union Local 770 of Los Angeles (A. F. of L.), and the United Mine Workers (Independent). Mr. Goldblatt is secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.*]

San Francisco

WHEN the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union negotiated its first industry-wide welfare plan five years ago, its goal was complete health care for members and their families. Steady progress toward this end has been made.

Ever since the union and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association established a joint welfare fund in 1949, welfare has been a basic issue in I. L. W. U. collective bargaining. Today welfare programs, in the main administered by joint union-employer boards of trustees, cover the I. L. W. U. longshoremen and warehousemen on the West Coast, the Alaska dock workers, the Hawaii longshore, sugar, and pineapple workers, and members of some of the smaller locals in other industries. A first principle is coverage for wives and children as well as for the workers, since 80 per cent of workers' medical expenses, nation-wide, are for members of the family.

For many reasons the I. L. W. U. prefers the group-service type of health plan, which provides medical and hospital services directly to the families, to the insured type, which pays set amounts of money toward medical and hospital bills. The coverage in a service plan is much more comprehensive than that of even the more expensive indemnification plan; the services provided represent about 88 cents of each premium dollar as against about 65 cents in a typical insured plan; the emphasis in a service plan is on the maintenance of good health—on the theory that it costs less to prevent illness than to treat it—while insured plans provide benefits only after illness occurs.

A continuing effort is made to insure that the service is the best possible. Administrators of the funds meet regularly to consider proposals for improvements—for example, the opening of night clinics—and to work out educational projects. The union believes that health education reaching into the members' homes is a prerequisite to a good welfare program. Members must know precisely what services they are entitled to and receive instruction on how to keep well in order to make the best use of their coverage.

Though convinced of the advantages of service plans, the I. L. W. U. recognizes that few of these plans allow the consumer of health services a voice in their policies; in fact, until the union or the welfare fund is in a position to operate its own health center, its members must accept what is provided. Some families always prefer to use a private physician. Yet when 15,000 West Coast dock workers were offered a choice this year between continuing their service coverage and shifting to an indemnification plan, only 500, or 3½ per cent, wanted to change. In one big warehousemen's local which at the start of the welfare program let its members choose between service and money benefits the division was fifty-fifty. Apparently the appeal of a "free choice of doctors" lost its force after the workers had experienced the advantages of a service plan.

Courtesy the *Dispatcher*

IN AREAS where no adequate service plan exists, the welfare fund provides insured benefits. It then does everything possible, both in writing the contracts and in administering them, to assure that the benefits are adequate to the needs. In order to eliminate out-of-pocket payments as a reason for putting off medical attention, the I. L. W. U. plan pioneered in providing reimbursement for a doctor's care, in the home or at his office, starting with the first visit.

In negotiating insured benefits the welfare-fund administrators look not only at the coverage available for the money but at the "retention" figure and the claims-handling arrangements. Retention is the percentage of the premiums kept by an insurance company for its administrative costs, taxes, and profits. In I. L. W. U. plans the average retention figure is well under 10 per cent.

Frequent spot checks on claims assure prompt payment and uniform interpretation of contracts. Comparison of reimbursements with the actual charges made by doctors and hospitals shows where needs are not being met and stimulates intelligent planning for expanded benefits. Sometimes doctors are persuaded, individually or through their organizations, to limit their charges to what the plan will pay for. Such prior-fee agreements have been reached in a number of communities.

An I. L. W. U. innovation in the welfare field is the development of new techniques for keeping people well. Seeing chronic illness as the major threat to health in the United States, the union in 1951 initiated for San Francisco longshoremen a multiple-health-test program aimed at early detection of serious chronic disease. The union service plan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in San Francisco and a number of public and voluntary health agencies cooperated in conducting the tests. The program was unique in that the longshoremen were assured of the necessary follow-up treatment through their comprehensive coverage. Last summer a multiple-health test program was instituted in Stockton, California, where I. L. W. U. workers have insured-type benefits. The sponsors were the I. L. W. U.–P. M. A. Fund, the San Joaquin County Medical Society, and the Continental Casualty Company, underwriter of the workers' health insurance.

The I. L. W. U.–P. M. A. Fund is also breaking ground in the virtually unexplored field of prepaid dentistry. A program just getting under way in San Francisco and Wilmington, California, gives each family a choice between a service plan for children up to fifteen, with comprehensive care provided by a dental group, and an indemnification plan which pays the cost of services provided by a dentist selected by the family up to a maximum of $75 a year. A similar dental program is scheduled to start soon in Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington. In each area the program has been worked out after consultation with the state dental association.

Behind all the I. L. W. U. welfare programs is the principle that the money available should go into benefits and not be diverted to paying high administrative costs or building up big reserves. Administrative costs of the I. L. W. U.–P. M. A. Fund have never run over 2 per cent of contributions; the joint union-employer board of trustees serves without salary from the fund. The union has been successful in persuading the employers that reserves amounting to three months' premiums are large enough and that any money collected over that might better be used than piled up. Thus the fund's reserves were used to institute the pilot dental program.

Pension plans negotiated by the I. L. W. U. are a story in themselves. One fact is pertinent here: pensioners retired from the West Coast docks and from Hawaii sugar plantations are provided continued health coverage not only for themselves, a benefit some other unions have gained, but for their families, a benefit others have yet to win.

Conservative Investors

Harry Bridges's militant I. L. W. U. is extremely conservative in handling its pension fund, according to *Business Week*. As of June of last year, the magazine reports, the union and the Pacific Maritime Association, the organization of employers which donates to the fund, had invested $8,000,000 in "high-grade bonds, debentures, and rail-equipment trusts . . . National Steel, A. T. and T., Consolidated Edison, Aluminum Corporation of America, and more, all the fattest cats of Wall Street." Louis Goldblatt, author of the article which appears on these pages, is quoted as saying that the union, in choosing its investments, was concerned first with the security of the fund and second with its yield. "Our bonds," said Mr. Goldblatt, according to *Business Week*, "are strictly a mortgage on buildings and equipment, not a vote of confidence in the management."

COMMISSION FOR PEACE

A New Approach . . *by Bertrand Russell*

MANKIND at the present time is faced by dangers to the whole species so great that the avoidance of them ought to be the common aim of all the powers. The facts are known to everybody who chooses to know them, but for reasons of propaganda they are not adequately emphasized on either side of the Iron Curtain. It is true that they have been stated in Western countries but not in such a manner as to influence policy. They have been stated more clearly and forcibly in America than in any other country, but they do not seem to have made any impact upon the average Congressman or the average American voter.

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S new book, "Human Society in Ethics and Politics," will be published next month.

The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, month by month since Hiroshima, has published detailed and reasoned warnings, but this journal has a very small circulation since it appeals only to those who wish to know rather than to shout. It is true that some influential people who are not scientists have become aware of the situation brought about by the new methods of warfare. Ernest T. Weir, for example, who represents what is most intelligent in big business, has said at the end of an irrefutable piece of reasoning, "In short, even if we defeated Russia—communism would win."*

The supreme fact that governments cannot bring themselves to face is that their aims can no longer be achieved by war. This applies equally to Communist and anti-Communist powers. Perhaps Mr. Weir may be right in saying that *if* the United States were victorious in a great war communism would still win, but it should be added that there is no probability of anybody being victorious. Consider what is likely to happen in the first week of a world war. New York, Washington, London, and Moscow will probably be wiped out. A great deal of the Caucasus oil will be set a-blaze, and communications will be disrupted both in Russia and in Western Europe. Such parts of the populations as survive the bombs will starve, and ordered government will be replaced by anarchic violence. All great states will disintegrate, as Rome disintegrated in the fifth cen-

*In an article Peace Must Be Pursued, *U. S. News and World Report*, March 18, 1954.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tury. Communism and modern capitalism alike will disappear. The United States, Western Europe, Russia, and China will all suffer catastrophically, and nothing will emerge that any of these governments desire.

WHY is it that although this is obvious to anyone who takes even a little trouble to study the situation, governments and public alike continue to talk and think in terms of war? Among the Western powers this is largely due to the fact that any talk about the futility of war sounds like defeatism and may be regarded as an argument for appeasement. I suppose that the same considerations apply to the politically active part of the population of the Communist countries. It seems, on both sides, as if the only alternative to war were abject surrender. There is, however, another alternative. It is that both sides should recognize, and should be known to recognize sincerely, that war has become futile. Neither side alone can be vigorous in urging the futility of war since to do so gives an impression of weakness. It is here that neutrals can, if they will, save both camps from destruction.

Neutrals have two advantages over the powers in either camp. The first advantage is that they can urge the destructiveness and futility of war without incurring the odium of seeming to advocate cowardly submission. The second advantage is that they can speak to governments on both sides without being thought to be actuated merely by bias. This is especially important as regards Communist countries, for in them public discussion and controversy play no part. While relations between East and West remain as strained as they are at present nothing that the Western democracies can say to Russia or China has any weight if it is an appeal to reason rather than to force. Neutral governments, on the contrary, can speak in identical terms to both Communist and non-Communist powers, and can avoid the suspicion that they are concerned to promote the success of either side.

If I belonged to one of the neutral countries, I should urge my government, and any other neutral government that might be willing to listen, to take very active steps to persuade both sides simultaneously to abandon the threat of war as an instrument of policy. The first

Gandhi

step should be to appoint a commission to investigate the probable effects upon neutrals of a world war. I should hope that a number of neutrals would join in this, but the work could be done by any one or two of them—for example, by India and Sweden, jointly or separately. Nobody can doubt that a world war would bring great hardships to neutrals, perhaps as great as those which would be suffered by belligerents. It would therefore be a rational act from a traditional point of view to investigate these possible hardships and to inquire whether they could be averted or mitigated by anything except the prevention of world war. I should hope that a commission, if appointed, would find that it could not confine its inquiries to the effects of war upon neutrals. I believe that it would very soon find the problems of neutrals inextricably bound up with those of potential belligerents, and that it would be forced into some kind of forecast of the course of war if one took place.

I do not mean that the neutrals should predict the victory of this side or that. I believe that a victory for either side is out of the question, and I think this would be evident to any intelligent neutral not blinded by the passions which are producing the East-West tension. The commission should preserve a most meticulous impartiality. Its inquiries should be technical and dispassionate. Its members should be few and should be eminent in various relevant directions. There would have to be military, naval, and air experts, a first-class nuclear physicist, a bacteriologist, an economist, and a man of experience in international politics. A body so composed could, I am convinced, draw up a report which would make the futility of world war undeniable by anybody who studied it.

The report should be presented to all governments likely to be belligerents in a world war. These governments should be invited to express their opinion of the report. If they concurred in its findings—and it would surely be very difficult for them to do otherwise—the powers on each side would be so informed. I do not believe that at the present moment either side desires a great war; Malenkov has expressed the opinion that it would be a disaster. But on each side there is a suspicion that the other side is not sincere. Neither Russia nor the United States is convinced that the other will not start aggressive war at any moment. It is this mutual suspicion which must be allayed if war is not to break out sooner or later through some rashness or some inadvertence. I think that this mutual suspicion could be very much diminished if both sides simultaneously expressed agreement with the findings of the neutral commission.

IT MAY be feared that neutral governments will shrink from a task which is likely to offend the most powerful nations of the world, for there is one matter on which all the powerful nations appear to be agreed, and that is that neutrality is an offense against morality and decency. For this reason any neutral nation undertaking such a task will need courage. But courage is needed in order to stay alive. Passive poltroonery leads straight to death. Courage for war is common to the greater part of mankind. Is it utopian to hope that some neutral nation or nations may show a much smaller degree of courage in the interests of peace?

I have mentioned two nations which I think might possibly be induced to act in the sense that I have been advocating. They are Sweden and India. Neither is perhaps wholly neutral. Sweden's sympathies are Western and India's sympathies are Eastern; but both are legally neutral, and in cooperation they might display a genuine impartiality. I have encountered among Swedes a sentiment which, though irrational, is not unnatural. Sweden has not been at war since 1814, and there are not a few in Sweden who have a sort of shame in the thought that they have had no share in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the arduous heroisms of this turbulent century. But if Sweden were to undertake such a work for peace as the suggested commission could perform, it would appear at once in the very forefront of heroism, and of a heroism that would be constructive, non-violent, and in the service of humanity as a whole. I do not see that national self-respect could demand anything better.

The government of India, while not strictly pacifist, is profoundly affected by the doctrine of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi. To show to the world convincingly that war will not only be horrible and cruel and destructive but will also be futile from a governmental point of view would be a fitting tribute to the memory of Gandhi and one which would enhance the moral stature of India among the nations.

The scheme which I have been proposing, even if completely successful, would be only a first step. If each side were convinced that the other side realized the uselessness of war from the point of view of its own aims and ambitions, it would become possible to negotiate with some hope of reaching solutions. I do not venture to suggest what these solutions should be. There are problems which, in the present temper of the world, appear insoluble. Perhaps the most intractable of these is the unification of Germany. But no problem is insoluble where there is mutual goodwill and where concessions are not regarded by one side as a triumph and by the other as a disgrace. The truth is so plain and simple that it seems as if governments must in time become aware of it: the Communist and non-Communist worlds can live together or die together. There is no other possibility. When both sides realize this, it may be hoped that they will choose to live rather than die.

Moscow-Belgrade Reunion

by Alexander Werth

Paris

THE Moscow citizen, opening his *Pravda* of November 29, must have rubbed his eyes: here, on the foreign-news page, were two columns devoted to "The National Holiday of the Peoples of Yugoslavia." Of course there had been some warning of this sort of thing. A few months ago, under the headline "Statement by Tito, President of Yugoslavia," *Pravda* had reported Tito as saying in effect that Yugoslavia did not wish to play into the hands of people anxious to increase international tension and that it had no intention of joining the Atlantic Pact; Tito also welcomed the increasingly "normal" Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

But the November 29 article, which was written by a well-known Soviet war correspondent named Kraminov, went far beyond politely recording an official Yugoslav statement. The author recalled with warm emotion the happy days when Russia and Yugoslavia loved each other deeply and was sure that under the surface this feeling was still alive. Speaking of the liberation of Yugoslavia from the Germans eleven years ago, he stressed the heroic struggle of the Partisans and referred with moderation to the aid given them by the Soviet forces.

The appearance of this story in *Pravda* is of greater significance than might appear to the uninitiated. The account of events in 1943 and 1944 was in agreement by and large with the official Yugoslav contention that the country was mainly liberated by the Yugoslavs themselves, even if the intervention of the Red Army was of decisive help in the final stages of the war. The suggestion that the Red Army was an "auxiliary force," and not the other way round, was calculated to be a sop to Yugoslav pride.

As to what happened later, Kraminov was discretion personified. Without going into any details he simply said that relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia suddenly became "unfriendly." And in recent years this unfriendliness had "played into the hands of the enemies of both countries—those who hoped to exploit the situation with a view to pursuing their policy from positions of strength against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and those who wanted to weaken and isolate Yugoslavia."

With respect to the recent overtures made by the Soviet Union toward "normalizing" Soviet-Yugoslav relations, Kraminov commented on the favorable response which these offers had met from the Yugoslav government and continued: "Trade between the two countries is now being developed, and there is a marked extension of cultural contacts. The two governments agree that friendly relations must be based on equal rights and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

What followed, Kraminov said, was written more in sorrow than in anger. On November 13 the Soviet government proposed a conference of all European countries with a view to establishing a system of collective security. The peace-loving peoples of Europe warmly approved of this proposal, and "a number of European governments accepted." But unfortunately not Yugoslavia. While the Yugoslav government "welcomed and supported the idea of the conference" and considered that it would "contribute greatly to the diminution of international tension," it felt that since numerous European countries had refused the Soviet invitation, it might be best to postpone the conference till some later date. At this point the *Pravda* article, having previously sunk all past differences, changed its tone and insisted that to postpone the all-European conference till after the ratification of German rearmament would "make such a conference aimless."

The article did not mention Tito or any other Yugoslav leader. It was calculated to appeal especially to ex-Partisans, who are prominent in the Yugoslav Communist Party, and to industrial workers, many of whom were "Cominformist" in 1948 when the break with Russia occurred and have continued to be so on the quiet. Even Serb peasants have a feeling of anti-German Slav solidarity and a soft spot for Russia.

There is no doubt that the Kremlin is doing its best—and with considerable success—to strengthen the bonds between Russia and all other Slav peoples, who may not love Russia very much but who do not love Germany at all. Is the ultimate object of its overtures a Soviet-Yugoslav military alliance?

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *Paris correspondent.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

On this and the following pages lists of books selected by Nation *reviewers and editors as the most interesting published in 1954 are presented as a guide to Christmas buying. Other lists were printed last week, and there are more to come.*

Human Rights in a Corporate Society

THE 20th CENTURY CAPITALIST REVOLUTION. By A. A. Berle, Jr. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

By Walton Hamilton

IT IS an anomaly of our culture that the most realistic picture of the national economy is emerging not from the halls of learning but from the workshops of the laity. While the professional economists are plotting indifference curves, setting traps for eternal principles, and inventing such jargon as "oligopoly" and "monopolistic competition," men of the law are occupied with the actual workings of the industrial system. It is not their intent or their task formally to explore the economic order or to make "contributions" to its understanding. Instead, their results are a by-product of everyday legal activities.

A complaint filed in a federal court starts a proceeding by the United States against major motion-picture producers —and beneath its legal exterior is to be found a clinical report upon the practices of the industry. In a lawyer's brief a section entitled The Facts of the Case exhibits the round of "acts and things done" to tobacco, from the planting of the seed to the discarding of the cigarette stub. Learned opinion from a high bench parades the economic pattern in milk or crude oil, electrical appliances or cement, table salt or waste paper. A great jurist in a dissenting opinion scribbles the most illuminating essay which has yet been written upon the problem of calculating depreciation. All of these and hundreds of their kind are mere fragments not yet woven into an articulate whole. Yet each of them tells its bit about the economy which is on its way, not the hypothetical one to be found only in books.

Such a contribution toward understanding is A. A. Berle's trenchant essay upon some trends of our own time. It derives its empiric character from the problems the author has had to handle as a high official of the federal government and as an attorney concerned with insistent public problems. It gets its articulate statement from the series of seminars which he has, over the years, conducted at the Columbia Law School.

His term "the capitalist revolution" will do at least in the absence of anything which is better, but capitalism is an amorphous—or, more accurately, a polymorphous—thing, too intricate and dynamic to be encompassed by any word. And the swift changes which Berle recites move even more fundamentally upon the levels of technology and opinion than upon that of finance. The intensity of the cultural movement warrants the word "revolution," but the continuity of the intense drive into an unknown future endows revolution with an evolutionary character. All through the book Berle is aware that he is dealing with a new economy in the making, with trends which have not run their course, with institutions which are still in midstream. The known has to be presented against the background of the great unknown.

The focus of Berle's inquiry is the modern corporation. He realizes clearly that the corporation is an instrument neither good nor bad in itself, an inert thing which takes character from the uses to which it is put. The structure of medieval society was corporate. It was then impossible to think of land as naked of labor, and men carried on as members of a corporate body—feudal or monastic or municipal—and their rights and responsibilities were fixed by corporate affiliations. In the great break-up of the ancient order men came to be individuals who, under the exercise of their free will, bound themselves together into the associations which served their needs. But now again the corpus is becoming dominant. The men who work seek to attain the conditions of the good life through their union, and in the modern corporations we witness the return of the "honorable company" of old.

THE pages of this book—and even more, the spirit of Berle himself—are concerned with how human rights are to be secured within a corporate society. He is keenly aware of the spiritual plight of the public servant and of our failure to effect a workable harmony between the values of national security and personal freedom. He is aware that, in the atmosphere of a great witch hunt, intellectual curiosity is at a heavy discount and sheer competence may be mistaken for sedition. He outlines an ingenious—and to me a convincing—argument for the use of the First Amendment as a defense of government-employment rights against arbitrary and irresponsible official action. He recognizes clearly the problem confronting the large corporation that is determined to deal justly with its own employees and yet is compelled to employ the security standards of the government whose defense orders it must fill. In such cases he holds that the act of unjust discharge is that of the government, not of the corporation, and that the injured party may invoke the due-process clause. Here the only flaw is that Berle's wisdom is probably superior to that of the majority of those who now sit on our highest judicial bench.

WALTON HAMILTON, formerly professor of law at Yale University and now a practicing lawyer in Washington, D. C., is the author of "Price and Price Policies," "The Pattern of Competition," and other books.

Freda Kirchwey

The Measure of Man. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.

My Mission to Spain. By Claude G. Bowers. Simon and Schuster. $6.

The Challenge of Man's Future. By Harrison Brown. Viking. $3.75.

Plain Words: Their ABC. By Sir Ernest Gowers. Knopf. $2.50.

Dante's Inferno. Translated in Verse by John Ciardi. Rutgers, $4.50. Mentor Books. 50 cents.

Adirondack Country. By William Chapman White. Duell, Sloan and Pearce–Little, Brown. $4.50.

Worcester Account. By S. N. Behrman. Random House. $3.50.

Education of an American Liberal. By Lucille Milner. Horizon Press. $3.95.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carey McWilliams

A Single Pilgrim. By Norman Lewis. Rinehart. $3.

From Missouri. By Thad Snow. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

Asia and Western Dominance. By K. M. Panikkar. John Day. $7.50.

Fear the Accuser. By Dan Gillmor. Abelard-Schuman. $3.

In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Transcript of Hearing Before the Personnel Security Board. Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. $2.75.

The basic problem, however, is that of responsibility. The corporation exercises a far-flung dominion. Its decisions are a series of expediencies directed to the moment. Yet in their totality there is a policy which affects the lives and destinies of people over a vast area. A host of interests are affected which have no direct part in the stream of judgments. The direction of corporate affairs to public ends can no longer be left to the play of economic forces, nor has the regulatory power of the state been adequate to the gigantic task thrust upon it. In domain after domain of the economy there has arisen a private government which proclaims the "law of the industry" and in its distinctive way secures obedience from the members.

Here the dominant appeal of Berle is to conscience. It is among the oldest and most effective of sanctions, and our culture would be poor indeed without it. The pages of the book ring with the reiterated demand that conscience, not the acquisitive urge, be the corporate guide. But even in a simple and unvexed society conscience has never been able to stand alone, for conscience has always been a flexible thing, easily receptive to the values of personal interest. It has happened, too, that the man who felt the inner urge and the man who made the decisions were different persons—a separation which in days of old was overcome through the office of the Keeper of the King's Conscience. In headlong times like ours, when the small voice within cannot keep up with the course of events, conscience needs help over the hard places. Corporate officials are not regularly aware of the implications of their own decisions. They cannot be expected to give the proper weight to interests with which they do not come into contact, nor can they easily drive to an objective of public interest which they know only by hearsay. A narrowness of experience does not equip conscience with an understanding of a tangled and dynamic culture within which the corporation must operate. If business policy falls short of its larger objective, the universal defense has been the personal integrity of those who sit in the seats of the mighty. From the days of Joseph's corner on wheat to those of the Dixon-Yates contract, the apologetic cry has always been "so are they all, all honorable men."

IN LAW and politics it is not enough that the exercise of power be by honorable men. The law holds that no man, however upright, is fit to try his own case. In politics from the days of the Fathers we have attempted to secure domestic tranquillity through a balance among the interests which make up the commonwealth. Berle is right in insisting that in business we cannot halt activities until policy decisions are subjected to a process of review to determine that they move toward the general welfare. He recognizes that corporate executives must exercise control over aggregates of wealth which are not their own. He would, therefore, impose upon them the obligation of trusteeship. In industry the art of government is in its infancy and is badly in need of political invention. The task is to contrive a series of devices by means of which all the values that need to be served are represented by terms in the formula of decision. The book abounds in trails which are suggested but not explored, and it is hoped that in the forthcoming larger volume which Berle promises he will come to grips with a number of these problems in his own distinctive way.

In accepting the instrumental character of worldly goods Berle stands in a great tradition. As a neo-Augustinian, very properly he entitles his last chapter The City of God, but the goal which lies ahead is a practical hope rather than an assured reality. It may be that since we do not know the direction in which culture is moving, we cannot be sure of the goal, but if we choose our gods aright, the City need not be bleak and ordered and static. Life pulses at the full where problems sting with challenge, where there are more trails than can be followed, and where the journey ahead is into the great unknown. Mankind stands always at the crossroads even if the maze of trails which intertwine are forever new. And I suspect that Berle would not have it otherwise.

A Kafka of the Ancien Régime

THE PRIVATE DIARIES OF STENDHAL. Edited and Translated by Robert Sage. Doubleday and Company. $7.50.

By Maxwell Geismar

THESE diaries are a brilliant record of society in the Napoleonic epoch, and of a very peculiar kind of sensibility. Young Marie-Henri Beyle had really no political convictions. An ardent republican at the outset, he became a slavish admirer of the "great man" who was plunging France and Europe into ruin; then he wanted but was not allowed to be a convert to the Bourbon restoration. He clung to relatives and friends who might advance his personal cause; he aspired only to love and fame —"the refinement and exaltation of the passions": and I have no idea what makes him a great artist.

This problem has always been present in Beyle's work. The present editor of the diaries remarks that he was almost the only French writer of talent who remained faithful to his vocation through the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire. But for the first five years of the nineteenth century Beyle was mainly interested in seducing women. He used the "scientific method" of the new philosophers, to be sure—observation and deduction and then a species of polite rape. He failed steadily—his "role" got in the way of his sensations—and "that bastard," his father, would not support him in the style of living which was essential to success.

During these years Beyle was infatuated with the stage and aimed to be a comic bard in a vein halfway between Shakespeare and Molière. The "Private

MAXWELL GEISMAR is a contributing editor of The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maxwell Geismar

An Act of Love. By Ira Wolfert (Revised Version). Simon and Schuster. $4.

The Woman Within. By Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace. $5.

Selected Plays of Sean O'Casey. Selected and with a Foreword by Sean O'Casey and with an Introduction by John Gassner. Braziller. $5.

A Spy in the House of Love. By Anaïs Nin. British Book Center. $3.

Youth's Companion. Edited by Lovell Thompson, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Arthur Stanwood Pier, and Harford Powel. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

The Private Diaries of Stendhal. Edited and Translated by Robert Sage. Doubleday. $7.50.

On Education and Freedom. By Harold Taylor. Abelard-Schuman. $4.

In the Name of Sanity. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $3.75.

Complete Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman. Edited by Malcolm Cowley. Garden City Books. $3.95.

Diaries" are sometimes a travesty of the Napoleonic epoch, with the narrator appearing both as clown and as chorus. Yet the future novelist continued to stumble through a succession of débâcles and catastrophes wtih astonishing buoyancy. Settled in Paris around 1810, he became *de* Beyle. He rented a luxurious flat, acquired a carriage and a mistress, pulled all his strings to become an auditor, and meanwhile borrowed the money to get the job which would repay his debts. He was the embodiment of that upstart Consular aristocracy which aspired to grandeur and lived on credit. He was a primitive capitalist who despised work, except in the arts.

But somewhere in here the tone of the diaries has been transformed before our eyes. Speaking of the little niece of Pierre Daru, Beyle wrote: "She hasn't much in the way of breasts and wit, two great wants!" But when it came to Daru's wife, whom Beyle loved, he could say: "I had need of laughing, for I felt a violent desire to weep." Always seeking pleasure, he had learned that passion was not happiness but anxiety. Even before this, in his first serious affair with a very mediocre actress whom he usually calls Louason, he had displayed a remarkable repertory of fear, depression, and morbid jealousy. "It seems to me that at the moments when I need to go forward I hear a voice above me crying, 'You would like to fly and you haven't got wings, crawl!'" When he achieved victory over her and she became his, he was consumed by boredom and a desire to blow his brains out.

It is this Henri Beyle who glides furtively through the most intimate scenes of the diaries and who, partly unknown even to the amateur dandy who wrote them, was to become the future Stendhal. Beneath the various poses of the clumsy provincial, the noble pretender, the dominating egoist, there was indeed the analytical student of human behavior—and beneath this figure was something very much like a Kafka of the ancien régime. But the opening quarter of the nineteenth century was perhaps the last great period for the full expression of character and the passions, before we began to cling to our possessions and conventions. The morbid sensibility in Beyle was matched by the tremendous urge for life in his period; and this is what makes the diaries so invaluable today.

The present translation is in the colloquial modern idiom which the young diarist himself helped to originate—no rhetoric, no eloquence!—and Mr. Sage's editing job seems excellent. I have had no chance to mention Stendhal's intellectual life which was, in one word, prodigious.

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

Early Netherlandish Painting. By Edwin Panofsky. 2 vols. Harvard. $35.

Masters of Modern Art. Edited by Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $15.

Aspects of Chinese Painting. By Alan Priest. Macmillan. $7.50.

Architecture in Britain—1530 to 1830. By John Summerson. Penguin Books. $8.50.

Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages. By Margaret Rickert. Penguin Books. $8.50.

Art and Architecture in France—1500 to 1700. By Anthony Blunt. Penguin Books. $8.50.

The Paintings of Zurbarán. By Martin S. Soria. Phaidon Publishers. Distributed by Garden City Books. $12.50.

The Light of Distant Skies: American Painting, 1760-1835. By James Thomas Flexner. Harcourt, Brace. $10.

Oceanic Art. 96 Photographs by Friedrich Hewicker. Text by Herbert Tischner. Pantheon. $8.50.

Modern Prints and Drawings. Selected and with an Explanatory Text by Paul J. Sachs. Knopf. $7.50.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION — MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE IS $5 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

12/18/54

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU CAN STRIKE A BLOW...

YOU CAN HELP STRIKE a blow against the growing national menace of the *runaway shop.*

For more than 50 years the American Safety Razor Co. has been making Gem razors, blades and other products in New York City. On October 28 this company threw 1,400 men and women workers out into the street to join Brooklyn's unemployed. The company is running away to Staunton, Va., where wages are 75 cents an hour—$30 a week—a no-union town.

NEVER WORK AGAIN

Many ASR workers have 30, 40 and as much as 50 years' service with the company. *They may never be able to get other jobs.*

The ASR workers' union, UE Local 475, had negotiated and signed an agreement for severance pay and pensions. The company went back on its agreement and is ruthlessly throwing its workers on the human scrap-heap, with no pensions or severance payments at all.

November 3, the day after Election Day, police clubbed pickets away from the plant gates, to make way for trucks to start moving the machinery South.

There is no economic necessity for the runaway. American Safety Razor's profits are steadily increasing. It has just reported a nine-month profit of $1,413,396, as against $972,992 for the same period in 1953 and $596,771 in 1952.

UE does not oppose, but welcomes, the development of industry in underdeveloped areas, wherever it adds to the national production of useful goods or services and contributes to the income and well-being of the people.

REGISTER YOUR PROTESTS

But American Safety Razor's move perfectly fits the recent editorial comment of the Charlotte, N. C., *Observer,* which declared that the South *"was selling its strength and vitality at less than cost price. Industrialization offers the hope of deliverance from economic duress but industry that expects favors to exploit poverty only prolongs it."*

We urge you to register your protest against the inhuman abandonment of American Safety Razor's 1,400 workers by writing to the company at 315 Jay Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging them to grant severance pay and pensions to their employees.

In the meantime, please **don't buy: Gem Razors and blades, Treet blades, Ever Ready brushes, Silver Star blades, Blue Star blades, Personna blades, Pal Hollowground blades, ASR Ascot lighters.**

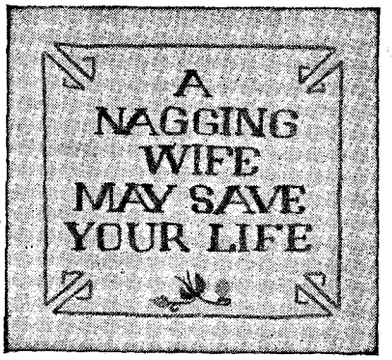
UE

for further information write

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UE)

Eleven East 51 Street **New York 22, N. Y.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



IF YOU ARE OVER 45 and your wife keeps insisting that you should have *two* chest x-rays every year... don't blame her. *Thank* her! Semi-annual chest x-rays are the best "insurance" you can have against death from lung cancer.

The cold fact is that lung cancer has increased so alarmingly that today you are six times more likely to develop lung cancer than a man of your age 20 years ago. Our doctors know that their chances of saving your life could be as much as ten times greater if they could only detect lung cancer before it "talks"... before you notice any symptom in yourself. That's why we urge you to make semi-annual chest x-rays a habit—for *life*.

To see our new life-saving film "The Warning Shadow" call the American Cancer Society office nearest you or simply write to "Cancer" in care of your local Post Office.

American Cancer Society

Contributed by The Nation as a Public Service

Theater

Harold Clurman

EARTHA KITT is a dancer and a diseuse of considerable attractiveness and ability. Guthrie McClintic is a director-producer who has made many handsome contributions to our stage, and Raoul Pené du Bois is a gifted scene designer. But their production of "Mrs. Patterson" (National Theater) is a sorry thing. Who is to blame for this I cannot tell: such accidents have befallen other excellent craftsmen. But the show looks as if it had been arranged by correspondence and mounted by an incompetent stage manager.

The script (with music) by Charles Sebree and Greer Johnson is the story of a colored girl who dreams, in Kentucky poverty, of wealth, glamour, and fine manners in some great city like Chicago. The play indulges itself in fantasy and in the poetics of adolescence. But it never gives out a spark; it remains throughout a thing of rags and patches, stage débris. As for Miss Kitt, either the director should not have attempted to instruct her how to play a fifteen-year-old girl or should not have permitted her to play it as she does—her performance is embarrassingly mannered.

OUR neglect of the past may be one of the signs of our fundamental disrespect for the living. One of the truest artists the American theater has known in our generation—Robert Edmond Jones—died on November 27. Too little has been said on the occasion of his passing.

The American theater can be said to have come of age in 1920—with the emergence of Eugene O'Neill as our only full-fledged playwright. But O'Neill was part of a movement which began to manifest itself shortly before the First World War. The Washington Square Players (1914) and to a greater extent the Provincetown Players (1916), of which Jones was one of the guiding spirits, were early expressions of that movement. Arthur Hopkins was the first "commercial" manager to bring Jones's work to the Broadway audience.

Technically, Jones's great contribution was in the field of scenic design. There is hardly a designer practicing today who has not learned something from his example. He taught "that a stage setting is not a background; it is an environment. Players act *in* a setting, not *against* it." (I quote from Jones's book, "The Dramatic Imagination.") "A good scene [set]," he said, "is not a picture. It is something seen, but it is something conveyed as well, a feeling, an evocation. . . . A stage setting has no independent life of its own. . . . In the absence of the actor it does not exist."

Jones never tried to reproduce reality or to embellish it. He reduced stage design to its barest elements of significant and usable detail for the purpose of creating an atmosphere in which the actor's and the playwright's dramatic plan might most amply fulfil themselves. The set for "The Iceman Cometh" was not a saloon; it was the place where O'Neill's meaning could be most appropriately voiced.

But Jones was more than a scene designer or a director. He was a teacher and a seer. He stood for something greater than his own talent, greater than the name he made, the "credits" that

Waldo Frank

The Desert Music and other Poems. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. $3.

A Treasury of Yiddish Tales. Edited by Irving Howe and Eliezir Greenberg. Viking. $5.95.

In the Name of Sanity. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $3.75.

Scenes and Portraits: Memories of Childhood and Youth. By Van Wyck Brooks. Dutton. $4.50.

The Rebel. By Albert Camus. Knopf. $4.

Apparitions. By G. N. M. Tyrrell. Pantheon Books. $3.

Science and the Common Understanding. By J. Robert Oppenheimer. Simon and Schuster. $2.75.

The Midnight Patient. A novel by Egon Hostovsky. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.

The Pocket Book of Modern Verse. Edited by Oscar Williams. Pocket Books. 50 cents.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might be cited on his behalf. (Many of his imitators received more publicity and made themselves more prosperous.) When Jones said, "Keep in your souls some images of magnificence," he meant it and his work showed it. And magnificence did not signify for him mere opulence or expensiveness. (Today, scenically speaking, we seem to put our faith in furniture.) He spoke of the theater as a House of Dreams. He embodied the poetic attitude. He never sought to astonish or dazzle. He took technique for granted: he sought to use it in all humility for noble ends.

As a young man in the theater I was often disturbed by his manner of address. He was not specific enough, not tough enough, or even sensuous enough. He did not appear to take sufficient account of the theater's "kitchen"—its organizational, administrative, economic sides. But as I contemplate the theater of today I can only ask myself, "And what have we practical ones, the hard-headed boys, the thick-skinned ones, made of the theater?"

I do not believe there is less talent in our theater today than in Jones's best days, but there is a less consistent devotion to it. Jones and his associates made the theater count for more in our lives, gave it an excitement, a dignity, a force which are now greatly marred. It is not, to be sure, altogether our fault, but neither is it what is shrewd, clever, efficient in us that makes us, even to a slight degree, artists worthy of the theater.

Frederick FRANCK Paintings 1954

December 14-January 8

PASSEDOIT • 121 EAST 57

25% DISCOUNT

ON ALL BOOKS

(10% on Texts and Technical Books)

ANY BOOKS YOU CHOOSE

1) Deduct 25% from list.
2. Add 15¢ per book for postage
3) Send check or money order.

N.Y. C. residents add 3% tax.

*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.

THRIFTY BOOK CLUB

206 West 15th Street
Dept. N, N. Y. 11, N. Y.
Phone CHelsea 3-6499

No Membership Fee

Outstanding Records of 1954

B. H. Haggin

A: Angel; BG: Bach Guild; BO: Boston; C: Columbia; CA: Capitol; CE: Cetra; CH: Concert Hall; E: Epic; HS: Haydn Society; L: London; O: Overtone; OL: Oiseau-Lyre; P: Period; R: Remington; T: Telefunken; U: Urania; V: Victor; VA: Vanguard; VO: Vox.

Bach: Suites; Prohaska and Vienna State Opera Orchestra (BG). Chaconne for unaccompanied violin; Grumiaux (BO; with Mozart sonatas). Fugues and Chorale-Preludes; Demessiuex (L). Sonata No. 3 for violin and clavier; Stern and Zakin (C; with other sonatas).

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 4; Schnabel and Philharmonia O. under Dobrowen (V). Bagatelles for piano; Johannesen (CH). Sonatas for cello and piano; Casals and Serkin (crude playing by Serkin) (C).

Bellini: "I Puritani"; Callas, di Stefano, Serafin (A).

Berlioz: "L'Enfance du Christ"; Little Orchestra Society under Scherman (fussing by Scherman; poor singing by two of the soloists) (C). "Benvenuto Cellini" and "Roman Carnival" Overtures, Trojan March, three excerpts from "Damnation of Faust," *Romeo Alone* etc., from "Romeo and Juliet"; van Otterloo and Lamoureux O. (E). Suite from "The Trojans"; Martinon and Lamoureux O. (MGM; with uninteresting excerpts from Glinka's "Russlan and Ludmilla").

Bloch: String Quartet No. 2; Musical Arts Quartet (VA).

Blow: "Venus and Adonis"; Ritchie, etc., under Anthony Lewis (OL).

Boccherini: Quartets Opp. 39 No. 3 and 58 No. 3; Quartetto Italiano (A).

Brahms: Variations on a theme of Paganini; Rosen (L).

Britten: Sea Interludes from "Peter Grimes"; van Beinum and Concertgebouw O. (L; with "Young Person's Guide"). Serenade for tenor, horn, and strings; Lloyd, Stagliano, Boston Symphony strings (BO).

Byrd: Masses for four and five voices; Pro Musica Antiqua (EMS).

Chabrier: Suite Pastorale; Lindenberg and Paris Conservatory Concerts O. (L; with Bizet's "Jeux d'enfants" and "La Jolie Fille de Perth").

Chopin: Concerto No. 1; Gulda and London Philharmonic under Boult (L; some bad details from Boult). Sonata Op. 35, Fantaisie Op. 49, Barcarolle; Nat (HS; defectively reproduced).

Copland: "Music for the Theater"; orchestra under Izler Solomon (MGM; with excerpts from Weill's "Dreigroschenoper"). Suite from "Billy the Kid"; Ballet Theater O. under Levine (CA; with William Schuman's dreadful music for "Undertow").

Debussy: "Estampes," "Images," and "Pour le piano"; Gieseking (playing insufficiently robust) (A).

Dowland: Songs; Fuller (EMS).

Handel: "Messiah"; London Philharmonic Choir and O. and soloists under Boult (L). Concerti Grossi Op. 6 Nos. 11 and 12; Boyd Neel O. (L). Sonata in D; Szigeti (C; with Tartini Concerto in D minor, etc.).

Haydn: Quartets Opp. 33 and 76; Schneider Quartet (HS). Symphonies Nos. 96 and 97; van Beinum and Concertgebouw O. (L; violins dry). Sonatas Nos. 1 and 7; Hambro (R; with Mozart's Sonata K.331).

Loeillet: Sonatas; Alès, violin, Coddée, cello (OL).

Mendelssohn: "Italian" Symphony; Krips and London Symphony (L; with Schumann's Fourth).

Monteverdi: Vespers of 1610; Ritchie, etc., under Anthony Lewis (OL); Italian group under Ephrikian (P).

Mozart: Clarinet Concerto K. 622; Lancelot and orchestra under de Froment (OL; with Sinfonia Concertante K. Anh. 9). Sonata K.448 for two pianos; Luboshutz and Nemenoff (R; with less consequential pieces). Sonatas K.301, 304, 378, 379 for piano and violin; Heksch and de Klijn (E). Quartets K.499 and 575; Juilliard Quartet (C; recorded sound muffled, violins wiry). Serenade K.361; winds of Berlin RIAS O. (T). Divertimento K.334; Prohaska and Vienna State Opera O. (VA). "A Musical Joke" K.522; Lange and Berlin Radio Chamber O. (U; with Mehul

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to MISS LE PACH

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

333 Sixth Avenue New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

IMPORTED BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Just Arrived

VOLUME 9 OF

JOSEPH STALIN'S

COMPLETE WORK in 16 volumes. In English. Available volumes 1 to 9.

Price per volume $1.00

Special subscription for complete set payable in advance $12.50.

SERGEI ANTONOV

SELECTED SHORT STORIES

Spring • Morning • Lena

Rain • Nina Kravtsova

Handy size vol. 363 pp., price 75¢

EXCELLENT HOLIDAY GIFTS

Beautifully illustrated. Handsomely bound Deluxe Editions of famous Russian classics. large format in English

LEO TOLSTOY

TALES OF SEVASTOPOL

154 pages — $1.50

IVAN TURGENEV

FATHERS AND SONS

214 pages — $1.75

IVAN TURGENEV

A NEST OF THE GENTRY

178 pages — $1.75

Ask for our complete "Gifts" and E-55 catalogs

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 West 56 Street, New York 19, N. Y.

822 Broadway (corner 12th Street)

GRamercy 3-2018–19

McCarthyism versus Social Work

by BERTHA REYNOLDS

Social Work Educator

25 cents a copy

5 for $1.00 • 100 for $15.00

Published by

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES, PROFESSIONS

35 W. 64 St. New York 23, N.Y.

FREE catalogs on Social-economic Movements, etc. regularly from: The Hammersmith Bookshop, Beadon Rd., London, W6, England.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal emotional problems. Fee $3.00. Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY

RADIO-PHONOGRAPH

sales, installation and service

VECTOR LABS

217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

XMAS GIFTS 25% TO 50% OFF

Salad Bowls (famous make), Wallets, Compacts, Perfumes, Electric Coffee-makers, Pens, Lionel Trains, Steak Sets, Phonos, Lighters. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

ON YOUR next trip east or west on U. S. Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

Symphony in G minor). Symphony K.504 ("Prague"); Solti and London Symphony (L; violins a little dry). Symphonies K.338, 385 ("Haffner") and 425 ("Linz"); Beecham and London Philharmonic (C). Arias; Schwarzkopf (some poorly sung) (A).

Prokofiev: Piano Concerto No. 1; Richter and Moscow Symphony under Kondrashin (P; with less interesting Concerto No. 5 and Sonata No. 5). Piano Concerto No. 3; Uninsky with Hague Philharmonic under van Otterloo (E; with undistinguished performances of "Classical" Symphony and Suite from "The Love for Three Oranges"). Suite from "Chout"; Golschmann and St. Louis Symphony (CA; with dances from Falla's "Tricorne"). Sonata Op. 80 for violin and piano; Oistrakh and Oborin (VA; with Franck Sonata).

Purcell: Excerpts from "The Fairy Queen" and "Masque of Timon of Athens"; Ritchie and orchestra under Lewis (OL).

Rameau: Concerts en Sextuor; Hewitt Chamber O. (HS).

Scheidt: "Tabalatura Nova" for organ; Noss (O).

Schubert: Piano Sonata in B flat (posth.); Demus (R). Quartets Opp. 29 and 161 and "Death and the Maiden"; Budapest Q. (C; Op. 161 better reproduced than the others). "Trout" Quintet; Amsterdam Piano Quintet (E). Octet Op. 166; Vienna Octet (L). Songs; Schwarzkopf and Fischer (A).

Schumann: Fantasy Op. 17 and "Kinderszenen"; Curzon (L). Fantasy Op. 17 and Symphonic Etudes; Nat (HS; defectively reproduced). Piano Concerto; Haskil and Hague Philharmonic (poor woodwinds) under van Otterloo (E). "Carnaval"; Gieseking (C; with Mozart sonatas). "Dichterliebe"; Souzay (L).

Shapero, Harold: Symphony; orchestra under Bernstein (C).

Strauss: "Don Quixote"; Krauss and Vienna Philharmonic with Fournier (performance clear but slack) (L). "Salome"; Vienna State Opera (L).

Stravinsky: "The Rake's Progress"; Metropolitan Opera soloists, etc., under Stravinsky (C). "Pulcinella"; Cleveland O. under Stravinsky (C). Symphony in C; Cleveland O. under Stravinsky (C; with Cantata).

Tchaikovsky: "Nutcracker" Suite; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; with "William Tell" Overture and "The Skaters" Waltz).

Verdi: "La Traviata"; Callas (CE; recorded sound harsh).

Vivaldi: Concertos; Vienna State Opera Chamber O. and soloists (BG). Concertos; I Musici (A).

Wagner: Sachs's solos from "Die Meistersinger"; Edelmann with Vienna Symphony under Loibner (E; with other Wagner excerpts).

Collections: Old vocal music performed by the Collegium Musicum of Yale's School of Music under Hindemith (O). French Masters of the Harpsichord; Nef (OL). Old French Airs; Souzay (L). Song Recital; Mattiwilda Dobbs (A). Song Recital; Schwarzkopf (some poor performances) (A).

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

groups, we discussed the recent ruling of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, Jim Crowism, and communism. The ruling of the court had solid support, but a few said, "It is O.K. but will never be put in practice." The subject of Jim Crowism brought a clenching of fists from all. One man said: "You never get used to Jim Crow because you are always feeling the pain of it and bleeding from your wounds." Few people were willing to discuss communism, but one said, "If through communism I can become an American citizen with all the privileges granted to the white man, I gladly welcome it." CHARLES E. MORGAN

Detroit, Mich.

Back to the Movies

Dear Sirs: After peering at television for a solid week, it has slowly dawned on me that there is more to Lester Cole's praise of Hollywood in his letter in the November 27 issue than first meets the exhausted eye. There can be little doubt that American writing has reached its nadir in the TV dramas, and compared to this little cabinet of horrors Hollywood is a pillar of creative art. The B picture that once was the curse of the business has reappeared as the teleplay, shrunken but unmistakable.

When I leave my set and journey down the street to the movie theater, I find that no matter what is playing it is a wonderful work of art compared to the revolting images on the screen of the little cabinet. And I have a feeling that the resurgence of the movie business can be so explained —that television is driving the people back to the movies. Perhaps the best proof of this dreadful inadequacy is the fact that it is losing its customers even when it gives the product away. Anybody with this experience in any kind of business should begin looking for another trade.

Los Angeles FRANK FENTON

Force and Violence

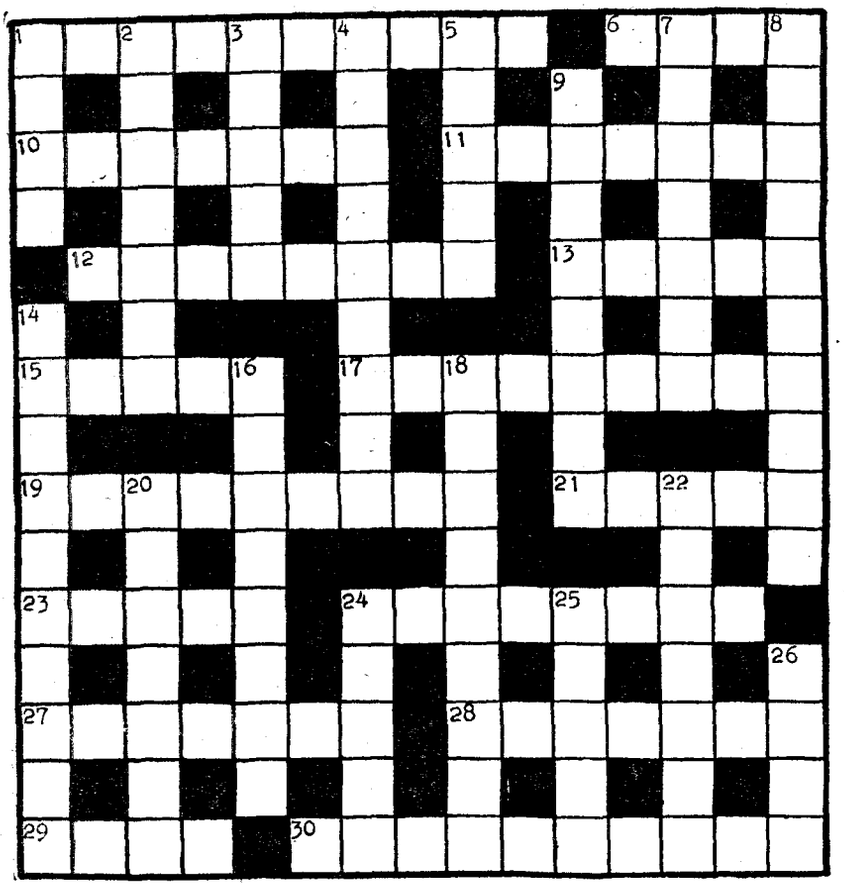
Dear Sirs: In these United States the Communist Party has been outlawed on the ground that it seeks to overthrow the government by force and violence. Recently, in Guatemala the government elected by the people of Guatemala was overthrown by force and violence with the connivance and aid of the United States. Seems a bit inconsistent.

New York SAMUEL BUCK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 598

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Dirty work at Madison Square? (6, 4)
6 They go around in Japan with nothing on the second time. (4)
10 All in vain, but not in extract. (7)
11 Some distance before the era of modern transportation. (7)
12 Is his speech conventional? (8)
13 See 4 down.
15 With our interest in things, we should observe it here. (5)
17 and 27. Smoke tender. 9, 7)
19 Measure a friend by this, without exaggeration. (9)
21 and 25 down. One thing and another you might connect with the place referred to in 1 across. (10)
23 Bird (one or two feet above the ground, by implication). (5)
24 Caused by an electric current. (8)
27 See 17 across.
28 Go to sleep, or make a bluff of it? (4, 3)
29 Seldom done—in fact hardly done at all. (4)
30 Primary course, in part? (5, 5)

DOWN

1 Resiliency. (4)
2 Poem that sounds like a movement. (7)
3 Was Nellie brought up to be unselfish? (5)
4 and 13. He may think himself a card, but some have no use for him despite the connotation. (9, 5)
5 A gesture to 1 down. (5)
7 Extended coverage. (7)
8 Press ahead, and give the bosses some points. (10)
9 He evidently studied his spelling lessons. (8)
14 An all-tar product, by the sound of it, but one probably handles lots of things. (10)
16 Ruffle. (8)
18 Begs a lady to have bright runners. (3, 6)
20 Pulled under the arms sometimes. (7)
22 Small credit union, in a way. (7)
24 Maxim of literature. (5)
25 See 21 across.
26 The safari is not up to making such a distance. (4)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 597

ACROSS:—1 MARDI GRAS; 6 BORED; 10 UNDERHAND; 11 ROTTERDAM; 12 AFTER; 13, 3 down and 24 down THORN IN THE FLESH; 15 ERUDITION; 18 TAKE SIDES; 20 END UP; 22 and 9 THE DEAD OF MIGHT; 25 EXUBERANT; 26 ADAGE; 27 REEVE; 28 TWENTIETH.

DOWN:—1 MANOR; 2 RIGHT HOOK; 4 ROUNDHEAD; 5 SODOM; 6 BARBARISM; 7 ROAST; 8 DUDE RANCH; 13 and 19 TO THE REAR MARCH; 14 NOSEPIECE; 15 UNSHEATHE; 17 IRRADIATE; 21 DRUSE; 22 TOAST; 23 EXACT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans

CARAN LODGE

Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York

60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway

Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces, 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.

Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE BRENTWOOD

715 Princeton Avenue, Lakewood, N. J.

A vacation . . a week-end . . . throughout the year you will find holiday enchantment at **THE BRENTWOOD.** The magic of Lakewood in every season . . . its sports . . walks . . . recreation facilities . . . combined with **THE BRENTWOOD** cuisine and hospitality will make you want to come back again and again. Reasonable rates.

RESERVE NOW FOR XMAS and NEW YEAR'S
In N. Y. SP 7-5168 or LAkewood 6-0690

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Penna. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA

157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining—Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

INSURANCE—PHILA. AREA

LOWEST RATE LIFE INSURANCE
— ANYWHERE —

$8.32 a month buys *Family Income Term Insurance Plan.* Provides family up to $20,000. Age 35 rate. This plan can pay off your mortgage, educate your children; also provides disability income benefits—**ALL IN ONE POLICY.** Can convert to Savings Plan, anytime. **NO LONGER ANY EXCUSE FOR DELAY**—costs 27¢ a day (cigarette money). Not restricted—anyone in good health to age 60. Large progressive company.

For your rate, give birthdate, address, telephone number.

Also low rates for Partnership, Estate, Tax and Retirement Annuity Plans

HARRY POMERANCE, Life Insurance Advisor, Room 1315, 123 S. Broad Street, Philadelphia 9 or phone KIngsley 5-6800.

ESTABLISHED 28 YEARS

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

•

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

•

The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Nation" as a Gift is a Vote for a Democratic World!

52 TIMES A YEAR FOR ONLY $5

HERE is the perfect answer to a good many of your Christmas shopping problems. Simply reach for a pencil (pen will do) and fill out the coupon below. Here's what you will accomplish:

❃ You will make certain that a friend (or friends) of yours will be receiving 52 weeks of *The Nation* —America's leading independent liberal weekly. And for those special, thoughtful friends, what could be a more fitting expression of your regard than a year's subscription to *The Nation?*

❃ Your friend (or friends) will receive a handsome gift card in your name—which we send at no extra expense to you.

❃ You will avoid some of the mad, last-minute rush of Christmas shopping. What could be more convenient than shopping right in your own home!

❃ You will help to spread the influence of the values you yourself subscribe to—the liberal ideas and approach to issues and events found every week in *The Nation.*

❃ You will not only be doing your friends a good turn by giving them *The Nation* but—frankly—you will be helping the magazine. Circulation revenue—not advertising revenue—is our lifeblood.

❃ And finally, you will save $2.00 on every gift subscription you send because of *The Nation's* Special Gift Rate of $5.00. So please rush your gift orders today. We know your friends will be pleased with your thoughtful gift.

The NATION 12/18/54

333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

Please send 52 weeks of *The Nation* at the special Christmas Gift Rate of only $5.00 to the following friends and send a gift card in my name.

Payment enclosed _____ Bill me _____

Also renew my own subscription

One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐

Three Years $17 ☐

(Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 Year Extra)

TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

TO _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED